

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-07 CU-02 /088 W

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R 051503Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0259

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY VALLETA

USMISSION USNATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1503

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SW

SUBJECT: CSCE: CONSULTATIONS WITH GOS

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1. EXTREMELY USEFUL CONSULTATIONS WITH SWEDISH MFA OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE AFFAIRS WERE HELD ON APRIL 1. US SIDE WAS REPRESENTED BY JACK MARESCA (EUR/RPM) AND GUY CORRIDEN, A MEMBER OF CSCE COMMISSION STAFF, GOS WAS REPRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR BERTIL ARVIDSON (WHO WILL LEAD SWEDISH DELEGATION AT JUNE PREPARATORY AND SUBSEQUENT MAIN MEETING), AMBASSADOR CAI MELIN; AND KERSTIN ASP, CSCE DESK

OFFICER. DCM AND POLITICAL COUNSELOR ALSO ATTENDED ALL-DAY SESSION INCLUDING WORKING LUNCH HOSTED BY MFA POLITICAL DIVISION CHIEF LEIF LEIFLAND. SWEDES HAVE EXPRESSED TO EMBASSY GREAT APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO RECEIVE MOST RECENT US VIEWS ON ENTIRE RANGE OF CSCE PROCESS MADE POSSIBLE BY VISIT OF MARESCA AND CORRIDEN. EMBASSY WISHES TO ADD ITS OWN APPRECIATION FOR THEIR VISIT.

2. DURING CONSULTATIONS, SWEDISH REPS REITERATED STANDARD NEUTRAL POSITIONS ON MOST ISSUES. NEVERTHELESS, THEIR VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC POINTS WERE INTERESTING AND, IN A FEW CASES, REPRESENTED FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF WHICH DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE. THIS TELEGRAM HIGHLIGHTS NEW OR INTERESTING POINTS WHICH CAME OUT DURING DISCUSSIONS, WHILE OMITTING POSITIONS WHICH ARE WELL-KNOWN TO THE DEPARTMENT.

3. CBMS IMPLEMENTATION: SWEDES WERE AWARE OF SOVIET LINE THAT USSR HAD BEEN UNABLE TO SEND OBSERVERS TO WESTERN MANEUVERS BECAUSE INVITATIONS HAD BEEN RESTRICTED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF EMBASSIES WHERE THEY HAD NO MILITARY ATTACHES (I.E., IN FRG). SWEDES HAD FOR THIS REASON ISSUED INVITATIONS TO THEIR RECENT MANEUVER WELL IN ADVANCE AND HAD NOT RESTRICTED THESE INVITATIONS TO EMBASSY PERSONNEL, WITH THE INTENTION OF PERMITTING OBSERVERS TO BE SENT FROM CAPITALS. WP COUNTRIES WHICH WERE INVITED ACCEPTED THESE INVITATIONS BUT SENT ONLY PERSONNEL FROM LOCAL EMBASSIES.

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4. CBMS AT BELGRADE: SWEDES CONFIRMED THAT NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED CSCE PARTICIPANTS (NNA'S) HAD AGREED AMONG THEMSELVES THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO CHANGE TO PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT. FOR THIS REASON THEY HAD DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE TO SEEK CHANGES IN SPECIFIC PARAMETERS OF EXISTING CBM ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS. NNA'S FELT PARTICULARLY STRONGLY THAT NUMERICAL PARAMETERS SHOULD NOT BE ALTERED, SINCE ANY PROPOSAL TO CHANGE SUCH PARAMETERS WOULD CLEARLY CONSTITUTE AN ATTEMPT TO ALTER THE FINAL ACT. SWEDES SAID THAT NNA'S WERE NEVERTHELESS INTERESTED IN ENCOURAGING NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS BELOW PRESENT 25,000-TROOP THRESHOLD, AND BELIEVED THERE WERE WAYS TO DO THIS WITHOUT CHANGING FINAL ACT. WHEN QUESTIONED ON THIS POINT THEY SPECIFIED THAT THEY DID NOT AT PRESENT ENVISAGE STRENGTHENING OF OBLIGATION TO GIVE NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS, SINCE THIS COULD ALSO BE CONSTRUED AS ALTERING PROVI-

SIONS OF FINAL ACT, BUT WERE THINKING ALONG THE LINES
OF INCLUDING LANGUAGE IN BELGRADE COMMUNIQUE NOTING DE-
SIRABILITY OF NOTIFYING SMALLER MANEUVERS, AND EN-
COURAGING SUCH NOTIFICATION. SWEDISH REPS REITERATED
THAT THEY ARE DETERMINED TO PRESENT A PROPOSAL FOR A
"CODE OF CONDUCT" FOR TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS, AND
THOUGH FINNISH RELUCTANCE ON THIS IDEA MIGHT REPRESENT
SOVIET INFLUENCE. SWEDES SAID THEY WOULD PROVIDE
US WITH AN ADVANCE DRAFT OF THEIR PROPOSAL AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE. SWEDES ALSO CONFIRMED THAT THEY DID NOT RPT
NOT PLAN TO PUT FORWARD A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL AT BELGRADE
ON PUBLICATION OF MILITARY BUDGETS SINCE THIS IDEA WAS
ADVANCING WELL IN UN CONTEXT. THEY WOULD PLAN TO TALK
UP THEIR UN PROPOSAL IN CORRIDORS AT BELGRADE AND PER-
HAPS SEEK FAVORABLE MENTION OF IT IN BELGRADE COMMUNIQUE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1503

5. BASKET TWO IMPLEMENTATION: SWEDES WERE RATHER POSITIVE ON THEIR EXPERIENCE OF BASKET TWO IMPLEMENTATION. WHILE THEY RECOGNIZED THAT COMMERCIAL INFORMATION REMAINS A PROBLEM IN EASTERN COUNTRIES, THEY FELT EACH
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EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT HAD MADE SOME EFFORT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR BUSINESSMEN. ONE INTERESTING ITEM IN SWEDISH EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT EACH EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT HAS IN LAST YEAR SENT REPRESENTATIVE TO STOCKHOLM TO GIVE PRESENTATION TO INTERESTED SWEDISH BUSINESSMEN ON CURRENT FIVE-YEAR PLAN. SWEDES HAVE FOUND THIS USEFUL AND PROMISING.

6. SOVIET-PROPOSED CONFERENCES: SWEDES CALLED ATTENTION TO THEIR LETTER TO ECE DIRECTOR GENERAL STANOVNIK, COMMENTING ON POSSIBILITY OF A HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT, WHICH IS STILL BEING DISTRIBUTED IN GENEVA. IN EXPLAINING THEIR VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE, SWEDISH REPS SAID THEY CONSIDERED IT MOST IMPORTANT TO OBTAIN AT FORTHCOMING ECE PLENARY AGREEMENT ON NORWEGIA-PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON CONTROL OF LONG-DISTANCE AIR POLLUTANTS, WHICH SWEDEN HAS CO-SPONSORED IN ECE. TO OBTAIN THIS AGREEMENT SWEDES BELIEVE IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO GIVE SOVIETS SOME SMALL SATISFACTION ON THEIR CONFERENCE PROPOSAL. SWEDES THINK THIS CAN BE DONE WITH MINIMAL EFFECT ON WESTERN POSITIONN(WITH WHICH THEY IN PRINCIPLE AGREE), BY TAKING A FAVORABLE DECISION AT ECE PLENARY ON A HIGH-LEVEL ECE CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT, TO BE PREPARED CAREFULLY WITHIN ECE. SUCH A DECISION COULD BE FORMALLY CONFIRMED AT BELGRADE. SWEDES SAID THEY CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT TO KEEP ANY HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE WHICH MIGHT TAKE PLACE WITHIN ECE, BUT WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT HELSINKI AS A SITE FOR AN ECE ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE, IN VIEW OF FINNISH INTEREST IN HOSTING THIS CONFERENCE.

7. BASKET THREE: SWEDES REPORTED THAT SOVIETS HAD RECENTLY CRITICIZED THEM ON THE CONTENT OF THEIR RADIO BROADCASTING TO THE USSR, AND HAD THREATENED TO "USE THIS AGAINST THEM" IN BELGRADE. SWEDES HAVE NO INTENTION OF ALTERING CONTENT OF THEIR BROADCASTS. ON
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HUMAN RIGHTS, SWEDES CALLED ATTENTION TO GOS STATEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF US POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. SWEDES HAVE RECENTLY ATTEMPTED TO PRESENT FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES TO POLISH GOVERNMENT WHERE PERSONS RESIDENT IN SWEDEN BUT NOT SWEDISH CITIZENS ARE INVOLVED. POLES HAVE REFUSED TO ACCEPT REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF SUCH PERSONS.

8. ORGANIZATION OF BELGRADE MEETINGS: SWEDES COMPLAINED THAT EC-9 COMPROMISE POSITION ON ORGANIZATION OF BELGRADE MAIN MEETING (OPEN PLENARY SESSION FOR OVERALL NATIONAL STATEMENTS, FOLLOWED BY CLOSED PLENARY SESSIONS ON EACH BASKET, FOLLOWED BY COMMITTEE WORK) WAS TOO COMPLICATED AND DUPLICATIVE. THEY FAVORED ELIMINATION OF INTERMEDIARY STEP TO SIMPLIFY MATTERS: OPEN PLENARY FOR OVERALL NATIONAL STATEMENTS FOLLOWED BY COMMITTEE WORK. SWEDES ALSO REPORTED THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES AMONG NNA'S ON WHERE DRAFTING SHOULD TAKE PLACE (FINNS AND YUGOSLAVS PREFER THIS TO BE DONE IN PLENARY; OTHER NNA'S FORESEE MAIN DRAFTING COMMITTEES) AND WHETHER TO HAVE SEPARATE WORKING GROUPS ON MEDITERRANEAN AND FOLLOW-UP.

9. FINAL DOCUMENT: SWEDES SAID THEY AGREED WITH FINNISH DESCRIPTION OF CONTENT OF FINAL DOCUMENT: A) FACTUAL INFORMATION (DATE, PLACE, PARTICIPATION, ETC.) ON BELGRADE.; B) POLITICAL ASSESSMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION, POSSIBLY REFLECTING DIFFERENCES OF VIEW; C) DECLARATION OF INTENT TO FULLY IMPLEMENT FINAL ACT; D) ANY AGREED RESULTS OF NEW PROPOSALS; E) SOME LANGUAGE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN; F) STATEMENT ON FURTHER FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS. SWEDES RECOGNIZED THAT THIS MEANT BELGRADE WAS LIKELY TO PRODUCE A "SMALL BOOK."

10. POST-BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP: SWEDES WANT NO INSTITUTIONALIZATION (AND THUS NO SECRETARIAT) BUT BELIEVE CONFIDENTIAL

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BELGRADE SHOULD AGREE ON ANOTHER BELGRADE-STYLE MEETING IN 2-3 YEARS (THEY REPORTED THAT ROMANIANS WERE INTERESTED IN HOSTING SUCH A MEETING, AND THAT AT RECENT COUNCIL OF EUROPE DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE MALTESE INTEREST IN HOSTING HAD BEEN AROUSED AND SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HAD URGED SWEDES TO HOST). SWEDES ARE POSITIVELY INTERESTED IN A NUMBER OF POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS WITH NARROWLY-DEFINED MANDATES. THEY SEE THIS AS THE ONLY WAY TO COMPLETE WORK ON NEW PROPOSALS PRESENTED AT

BELGRADE, ESPECIALLY IN MILITARY FIELD.
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